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THE

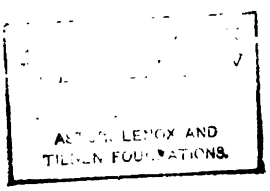
NATIVE AMERICAN:

A Gift for the People

"TIME'S NOBLEST OFFSPRING IS HER LAST."

PHILADELPHIA:
HECTOR ORR, 43 CHESTNUT STREET.
MDCCCXLV.

Checked
May 1913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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

The plan of this volume has been under consideration for several years.

The sentiments of truth and patriotism, promulged by the fathers of the Republic, are too little known; and the grave and unattractive character of such essays prevents their general circulation in ordinary typography. The graces of outward ornament, so often applied to unworthy purposes, are here pressed into nobler use. The style chosen was suggested by the daily business of the publisher; but he must also confess that, having long regarded American Productions in a *rose colored light*, he is now desirous that others should participate in the same privilege, both mental and physical.

The first three articles of the volume need no introduction. The Elders of the Nation there speak to us from the grave: to the impressiveness of their counsel in earlier days is now added the solemn dignity of death!

The remaining pages exhibit the views of a portion of the present generation upon the public welfare.—The facts and inferences there set forth appeal to the whole people for judgment as to their consistency with the universally approved doctrines which precede them. To this tribunal they are submitted with full confidence, and its impartial decision is all that is asked.

In offering this work to his countrymen, the Publisher is fully sensible of the humble part he bears in the enterprise; and yet, as

> "Each *moment* plies its pigmy sickle, emulous
> Of Time's enormous scythe"—

his exertions may not prove utterly worthless. In the phrase of an old editor, he brings a nosegay of rare flowers, or rather a bunch of balsamic plants, of sovereign virtue and enduring fragrance, with nothing of his own but the ***thread that ties it.***

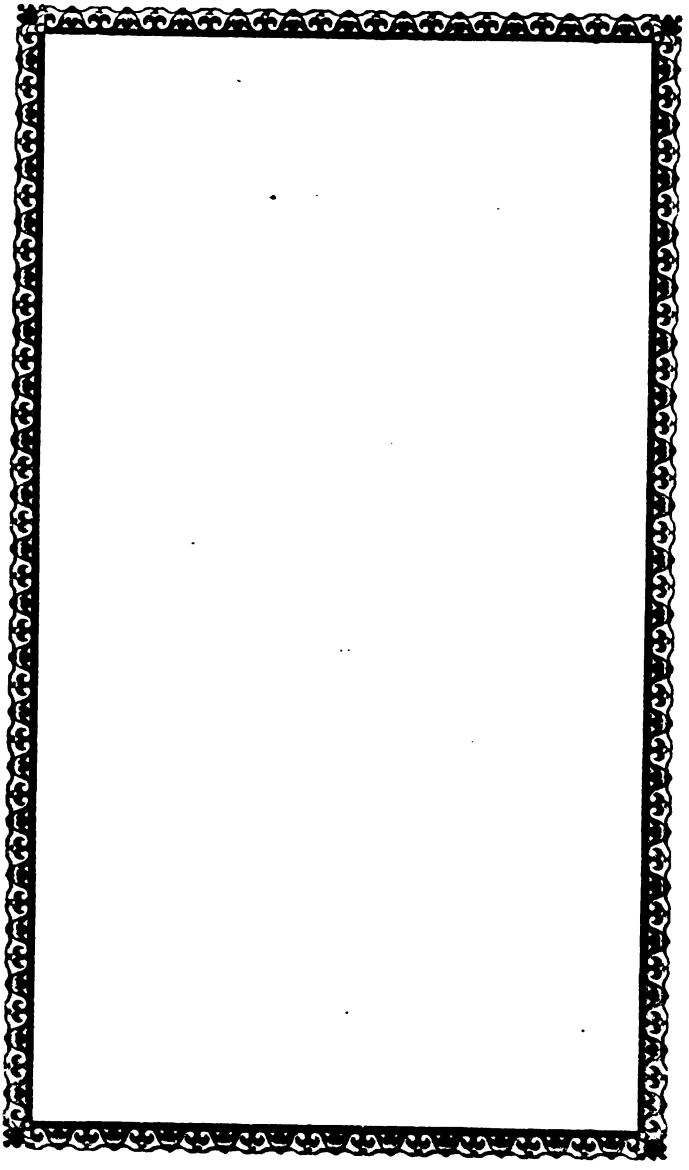
Philada. 1845.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

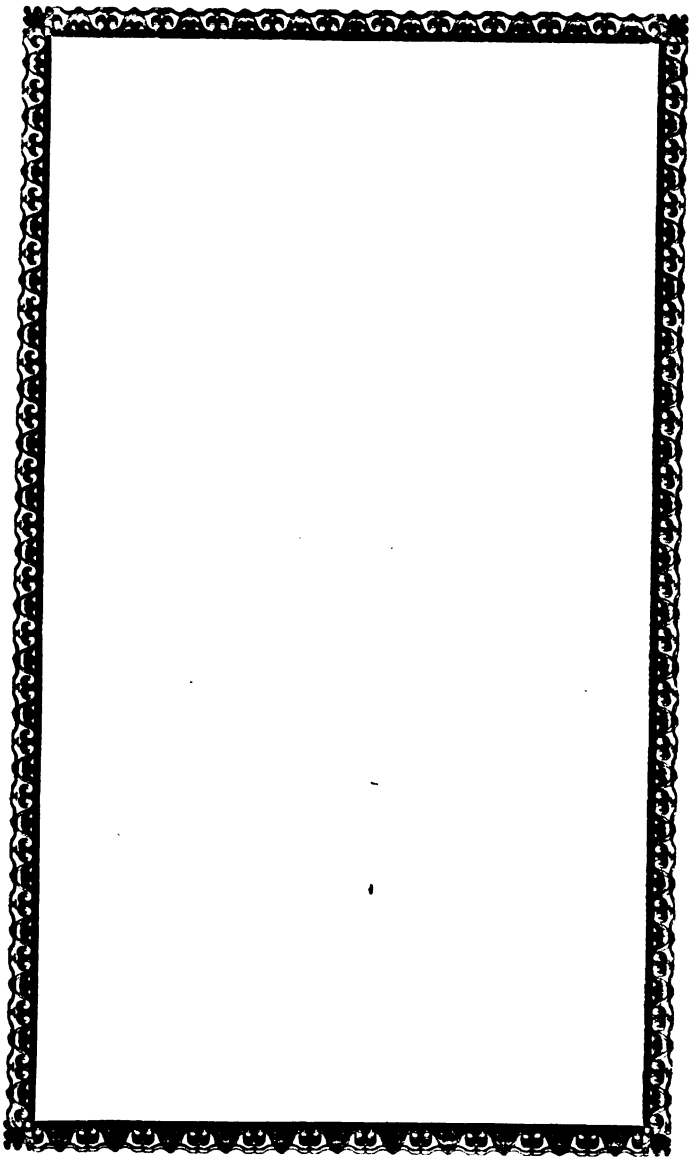
OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

TO HIS COUNTRYMEN.



This address bears date "United States, September 17, 1796." It was circulated upon the eve of the Presidential Election of that year, which resulted in the choice of John Adams, as second president of the Republic.



FAREWELL ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

The period of a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me

the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would be much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn.

The strength of my inclination to this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contri-

buted towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which

I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred on me; still more for the steady confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall

carry it with me to the grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here perhaps I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with myself, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to

offer to your solemn contemplations, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motives to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real indepen-

dence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; dis-

countenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must also exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts,

of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expanded. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it con-

tributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of the maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one *nation*. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate

strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any

form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty; in this sense it is that your Union ought to be considered as the main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'T is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting

all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will, also, be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations, "*Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*;" whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference in local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought

to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of the policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi;* they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain, and that with Spain—which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely, for the preservation of these advantages, on the *Union* by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those

advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing, within itself, a provision for its own

amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true *Liberty*. The basis of our political system, is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government; but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive to the fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize

faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be, to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypo-

thesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty, itself, will find in such a government, with power properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with a particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner

against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists, under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which generally result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate

than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasionally riots and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its

administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of their powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional

powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in a way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where

is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'T is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as

the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.

To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should

practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue, there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for the spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations: cultivate peace and harmony with all: religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an

exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?—Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from

its duty and its interests. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and untractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another, produces a variety

of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, who devote themselves to the favourite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable defer-

ence for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes

the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even to second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote, relation. Hence, she must be engaged in

frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so pecu-

liar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground?

Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it: for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to

temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to defend the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another;

that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they

may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles that have been here delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me;

uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and in interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary, on this occasion, to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases

in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

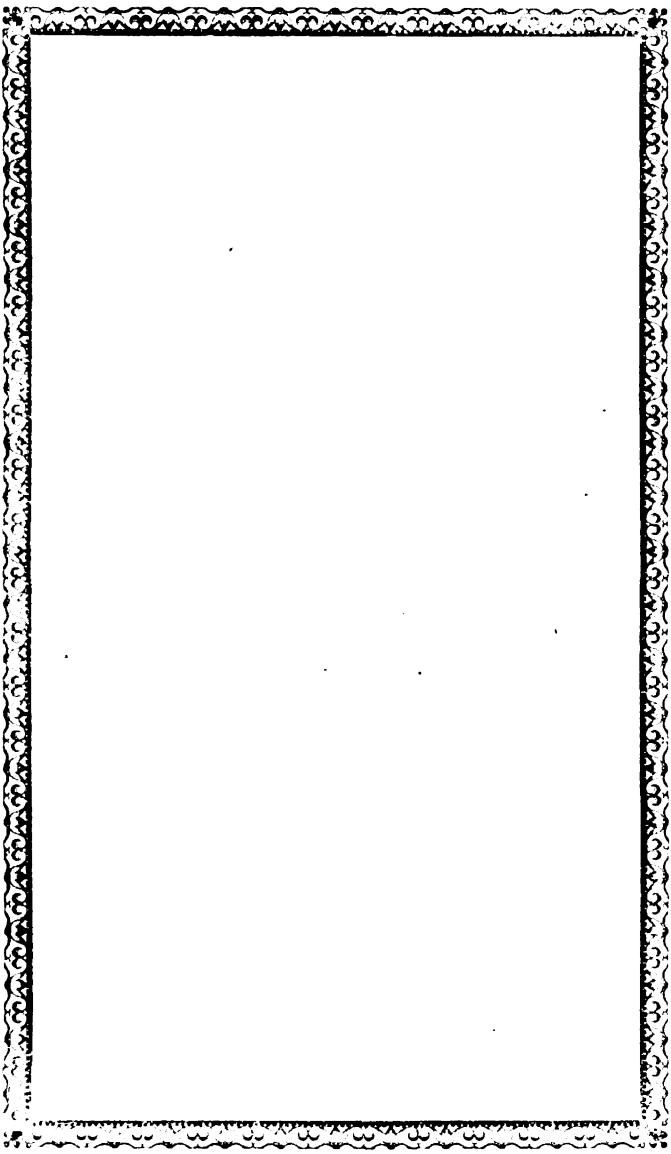
Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them

with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, Sept. 17th, 1796.



DECLARATION

OF

INDEPENDENCE.

DECLARATION

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[In the Congress of 1776, the great question of American Liberty came first to be discussed. On the 8th of May, Mr. Adams offered a resolution, that the Colonies should adopt governments adequate to the wants of the country, and independent of Great Britain. The success of this resolution on the 15th was considered as decisive of the question of allegiance to any foreign power. On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, seconded by Mr. Adams, moved in Congress the ever-memorable resolution of American Independence. The debate continued until the

10th, when the consideration of the resolution was postponed until the 1st of July. The next day, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and R. R. Livingston, were appointed to prepare a draught of a Declaration of Independence. The two gentlemen first named on this Committee having been deputed a sub-Committee to draw up a Declaration, at the desire of Mr. Adams it was prepared by Mr. Jefferson.]

DECLARATION.

WHEN in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain

unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evin-

ces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military

independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring Province, es-

tablishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the work of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cru-

elty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hand.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions

to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority, of the good people

of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And, for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

JOHN HANCOCK,
President.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett,
William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND.

Stephen Hopkins,
William Ellery.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
William Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF NEW YORK.

William Floyd,
Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF NEW JERSEY.

Richard Stockton,
John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abraham Clark.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin,
John Morton,
George Clymer,
James Smith,
George Taylor,
James Wilson,
George Ross.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF DELAWARE.

Cæsar Rodney,
George Read,
Thomas M'Kean.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF MARYLAND.

Samuel Chase,
William Paca,
Thomas Stone,
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF VIRGINIA.

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson,
Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, Jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

William Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

FROM THE

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

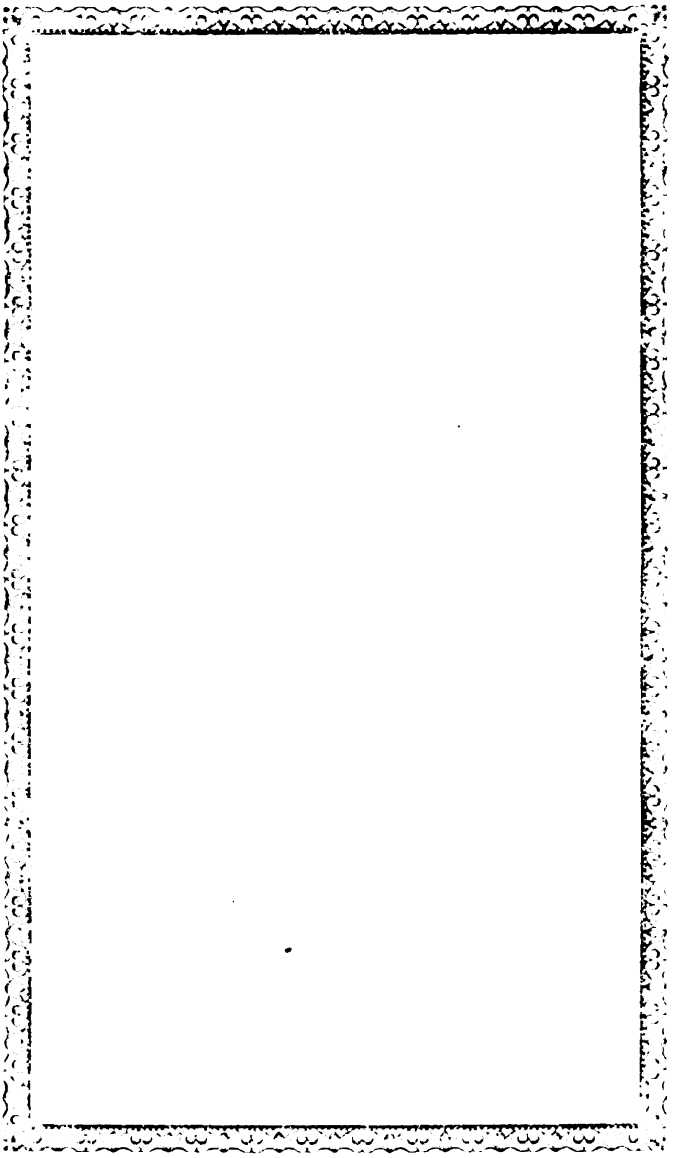
Edward Rutledge,
Thomas Heyward, Jr.,
Thomas Lynch, Jr.,
Arthur Middleton.

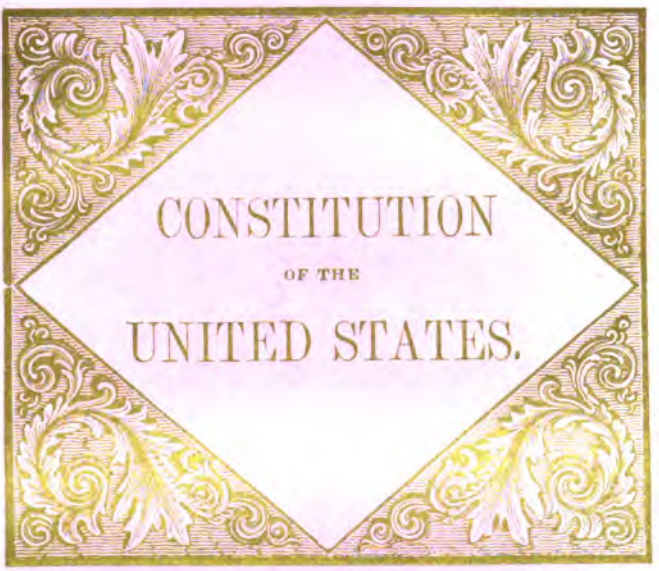
NAMES OF THE SIGNERS

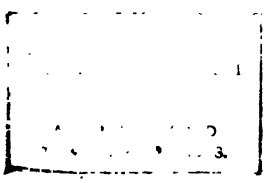
FROM THE

STATE OF GEORGIA.

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
George Walton.




CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES.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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America:

ARTICLE I.—Congress.

Section 1.—*Legislative Powers.*

1. All Legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the

United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.—*House of Representatives.*

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Qualification of Members—Apportionment.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,

which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the repre-

sentation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill up such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.—*Senate.*

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-

third may be chosen every second year, and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their own officers, and also a President pro-tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power

to try all impeachments; when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend farther than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.—*Election of Members.*

1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such

regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—*Powers of each House.*

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business: but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of

its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, except such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy: and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal,

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—*Compensation, Privileges, &c*

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the

same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.—*Bills and Resolutions, &c.*

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives: but the Senate may propose, or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United

States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House should agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their ad-

journment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary, (except a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.—*Powers of Congress.*

1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States: but all duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States.

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2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions:

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers and the au-

thority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance by Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings: And,

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—*Prohibitions and Privileges.*

1. The migration or importation of such

persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No Bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from one

State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.—*State Restrictions, &c.*

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post

facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the nett produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.—PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1.—*Election for President.*

1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

3. The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for the President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves: they shall

name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot,

the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

4. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President; if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for that purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number

of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

5. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice President.

6. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

7. No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

8. In case of removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Con-

gress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

9. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

10. Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and

defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.—*Powers of the President.*

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the Executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and con-

suls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.—*Duties of the President.*

1. He shall, from time to time, give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagree-

ment between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.—*Impeachment of Officers.*

1. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.—JUDICIARY.

SECTION I.—*Courts—Judges.*

1. The Judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices

during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.—*Judicial Powers—Civil—Criminal.*

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and the treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States—between a State and citizens of another State—between citizens of different States—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States—and between a State, or

the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—*Treason.*

1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giv-

ing them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.—State Rights.

Section I.—*Restitution and Privileges.*

1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II.—*Privilege of Citizens.*

1. The citizens of each State shall be

entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.—*New States.*

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any

State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.—*State Governments, Republican.*

1. The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.—AMENDMENTS.

1. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate

ARTICLE VI.—Debts.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test

shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.—Ratification.

1. The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the Twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

AMENDMENTS.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the Fifth Article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have

been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved: and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President one of whom

at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves: they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted

most of them sought only for an honest livelihood and a provision for their families; and rarely meddled with those institutions of which it was impossible that they could comprehend the nature;—*now* each new comer seeks political preferment, and struggles to fasten on the public purse, with an avidity, in strict proportion to his ignorance and unworthiness of public trust —having been SENT for the purpose of obtaining political ascendancy in the government of the nation—having been SENT to exalt their allies to power—having been SENT to work a revolution from republican freedom to the "divine right" of monarchs.

From these unhappy circumstances, has arisen an *Imperium in Imperio*—a body uninformed and vicious—foreign in feeling, prejudice, and manner, yet armed with a vast, and often a controlling influence over the policy of a nation whose benevolence it abuses, and whose kindness it habitually insults;—a body as dangerous to the rights

of the intelligent foreigner, and to the prospect of its own immediate progeny, as it is threatening to the liberties of the country, and the hopes of national freedom throughout the world; a body ever ready to complicate our foreign relations by embarrassing us with the hereditary hates and feuds of other lands, and to disturb our domestic peace by its crude ideas, misteking license for liberty, and the over brow of individual rights for republican political equality:— a body ever the ready tool of foreign and domestic demagogues, and steadily endeavouring by misrule to establish popular tyranny under a cloak of false democracy. Americans, false to their country, and led on to moral crime by the desire of dishonest gain, have scattered their agents over Europe, inducing the malcontent and the unthrifty to exchange a life of compulsory labour in foreign lands, for relative comfort, to be maintained by the tax-paying industry of our overburthened and deeply in-

debted community. Not content with the usual, and less objectionable licenses of trade, these fraudulent dealers habitually deceive a worthier class of victims, by false promises of employment, and assist in thronging the already crowded avenues of simple labour with a host of competitors, whose first acquaintance with American faith springs from a gross imposture, and whose first feeling, on discovering the cheat, is reasonable mistrust, if not implacable revenge. The importation of the physical necessities of life is burdened with duties which many deem extravagant; but the importation of vice and idleness—of seditious citizens and factious rulers—is not only unrestricted by anything beyond a nominal tax, but is actually encouraged by a system which transforms the great patrimony of the nation, purchased by the blood of our fathers, into a source of bounty for the promotion of immigration.

Whenever an attempt is made to restrain

this fatal end, the domestic and adopted demagogues protest against an effort which threatens to deprive them of their most important tools; and such is the existing organization of our established political parties, that should either of them essay the reform of an abuse which both acknowledge to be fraught with ruin, that party sinks, upon the instant, into a minority, divested of control and incapable of result.

From such causes has been derived a body, armed with political power, in a country of whose system it is ignorant, and in whose institutions it feels little interest except for the purpose of personal advancement.

This body has formed and encouraged associations under *foreign names*, to promote measures of foreign policy and to perpetuate foreign clannishness among adopted citizens of the United States;—in contravention of that spirit of union and nationality without which no people can

legitimately claim a place among the nations of the earth.

It has employed the power of association to embroil the people of this country in the political disputes of other lands, with which the United States are anxious to encourage peace and amity.

It has introduced *foreign emblems*, not only of national, but of partizan character, in the civic processions and public displays of bodies of men, claiming the title of American citizens, and sworn to American fealty; by which means it has fomented frequent riot and occasional murder.

It has adopted national costumes and national insignia *foreign to the country*, in arming and equipping military corps constituting part of the national guard, with its word of command in a foreign language, in open defiance of our military code; by which means it has weakened the discipline of the militia, and rendered it less available for defence in time of war.

It has entered into the strife of parties as a separate organization, unknown to the laws, suffering itself to be addressed and led to the contest—not as a portion of the great American family of freemen, but as a combination of Irishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, or collectively as *foreigners*, thus virtually falsifying its oaths of allegiance, and proving, beyond denial, its entire unfitness for political trust.

It has formed and encouraged political combinations, holding the balance of power between opposing parties; which combinations have offered their votes and influence to the highest bidder, in exchange for pledges of official position and patronage.

It has boasted of giving Governors to our states, and chief magistrates to the nation.

By serving as an unquestioning and uncompromising tool of executive power, it has favoured a political centralism hostile

to the rights of the independent states, and the sovereignty of the people.

It has facilitated the assumption by the national executive, of the right to remove from office, *without the consent of the Senate* persons who can be appointed only *with such consent;* which assumption is an obvious evasion of the spirit of the constitution.

It has encouraged political combinations for the purpose of effecting sectarian measures; in defiance of the fundamental law of the United States, and the constitutions of the states in which such efforts have been made.

It has given rise to the organization and arming of *foreign banditti*, leagued for the purpose of controlling the freedom of discussion, and opposing the constitutional assembling of American freemen, seeking the redress of political grievances; which lawless bands have repeatedly threatened, assaulted and temporarily dispersed, law-

ful political meetings of native citizens in various places.

Emboldened by the often-tested weakness of the constituted authorities, resulting, as we solemnly believe, from the ascendency of the foreign influence at the polls, a host of these foreign assassins at length proceeded to redden the gutters of the second city of the union with the blood of unarmed native citizens, without even the semblance of provocation, and with the avowed determination to prevent any political assemblage of the natives of the soil within the limits of one of the political divisions of a sovereign American state.

Prostrated in this attempt by the ungovernable fury of an outraged community moving in mass to avenge such insult to the flag of their country, trampled and torn beneath the feet of the very refuse of Europe,—these ruffians and their abettors have since fomented extensive riot and open insurrection; and, uniting with their

prejudiced fellow-countrymen, together with domestic demagogues of various political creeds, have striven unceasingly to fasten upon the victims of their treasonable and murderous proceedings, the odium of crimes originating with themselves:—thus exciting bloody contests between opposing bodies of native citizens, impairing, by division, the remaining political influence of the native population, and weakening the bonds of social harmony and the obligation of the laws. Collision of opinion has thus been followed by collision of arms, in deadly array, in the very sanctuary of our freedom, by the myrmidons of the crowned heads of Europe. If this double struggle, and aggravated danger, *does not constitute a crisis of national emergency*, we are yet to learn what combination of power inimical to liberty, can endanger the republic, or peril the permanency of our institutions.

The body of adopted citizens with for-

eign interests and prejudices, is annually advancing, with rapid strides, in geometrical progression. Already it has acquired a control of our elections which cannot be entirely corrected even by the wisest legislation, until the present generation shall be numbered with the past. Already it has notoriously swayed the course of national legislation, and invaded the purity of local justice.—In a few years its unchecked progress would cause it to outnumber the native defenders of our rights, and would then inevitably dispossess *our* offspring, and its own, of the inheritance for which *our fathers bled*, or plunge this land of happiness and peace into the horrors of a civil war.

The correction of these evils can never be effected by any combination governed by the tactics of other existing parties. If either of the old parties, as such, were to attempt an extension of the term of naturalization, it would be impossible for them

to carry out the measure, because they would immediately be abandoned by the foreign voters. This great measure can be carried out only by an organization like our own, made up of those who have given up their former political preferences.

For these reasons, we recommend the immediate organization of the truly patriotic native citizens throughout the United States, for the purpose of resisting the progress of foreign influence in the conduct of American affairs, and the correction of such political abuses as have resulted from unguarded or partizan legislation on the subject of naturalization, so far as these abuses admit of remedy without encroachment upon the vested rights of foreigners who have been already legally adopted into the bosom of the nation; and in furtherance of this object, we present the public with the following statement of the political principles and objects of the Na-

tive American body, whose duly constituted representatives we are.

PRINCIPLES

WE hold that, with few exceptions, no man educated under one system of government can ever become thoroughly imbued with the essence and spirit of another system essentially different in character.

That no man can eradicate entirely the prejudices and attachments associated with the land of his birth, so as to become a perfectly safe depository for political trust in any other country.

That the obligation of an oath of fealty to a foreign nation has been declared, by every civilized nation but our own, to be of secondary power when brought into collision with the natural duty due to the native land. And although we have as yet no absolute decision of this question in our Supreme Court, all pre-

cedents bearing on the subject lead us to anticipate a similar conclusion there.

And therefore:—That the elective franchise, which is the primary and fundamental element of popular sovereignty, can only be entirely secure when held exclusively in the hands of natives of the soil.

But, in consideration of the present and previous policy of our government, we are willing, at present, to extend as a boon, to all peaceful and well disposed strangers hereafter settling among us, not only every security enjoyed by the native in the protection of person, property, and the legal pursuit of happiness, but also the right of suffrage, UPON THE SAME TERMS AS THOSE IMPOSED UPON THE NATIVES; namely, a legally authenticated residence of at least twenty-one years within the limits of the country.

We advocate such an amendment of the

Constitution of the United States as may be necessary to preclude the votes of persons not legally citizens of the United States, in the choice of national representatives, or delegates from the several States and Territories.

We second, pledged, in the exercise of our constitutional right of selecting those candidates for office whom we esteem most capable and best informed; to confine our political nominations to the native-born citizens of the United States, including such foreign-born citizens, only, as may have been parties to the Federal Constitution at the time of its adoption.

We solemnly protest against all intermingling of national policy with the local policy of particular States, on questions involving the reserved rights of those States.

We hold that all minor questions of expediency in legislating upon subjects un-

connected with the fundamental structure of the government, such as fiscal and commercial regulations, the management of the Public Domain, and the proceeds therefrom, belong by right to the representatives of the people, and those of the several states, to be by them discussed and decided, from time to time, after mature argument, under the constitutional responsibility of those public agents—each to his own proper constituency, and also to the whole country —and that the adoption of any previous test or determination upon such questions, by any national party, degrades it into a *faction*, and, by leading to final decision before argument, obstructs the course of rational legislation.

If it is asked what measures of public import we most favour as a party, we answer,—all that stand high as American measures, in contradistinction to foreign. Native agriculture we cherish first—

native industry, first and last, in every branch of trade—art—ingenuity—mechanics—and invention. We aim at the independence of our country—in all things—moral, intellectual, physical, and political—in works of the hand, as well as in works of the head—in manual labour and in mental sagacity. We desire to make our government what our fathers designed it should be—and witness native statesmen in power—native industry triumphant over foreign labour—and native hearts, announcing America emancipated from all the world.

We advocate such an amendment of the Constitution of the United States as shall reconcile its letter with its spirit, on the subject of executive appointments, rendering all officers, commissioned by and with the consent of *the Senate*, incapable of removal except by and with the like consent.

We also recommend to the native Ameri-

cans of the several states a prompt resistance to all sectarian intermeddling with politics, or political institutions, come from what source it may; the absolute freedom of religious opinion being the corner-stone of American civilization.

We also recommend to the native Americans of the several states, the careful fostering and improvement of local institutions for public instruction, to be supported at the public expense, without which a government of the people must speedily become a government of ignorance and probable depravity.

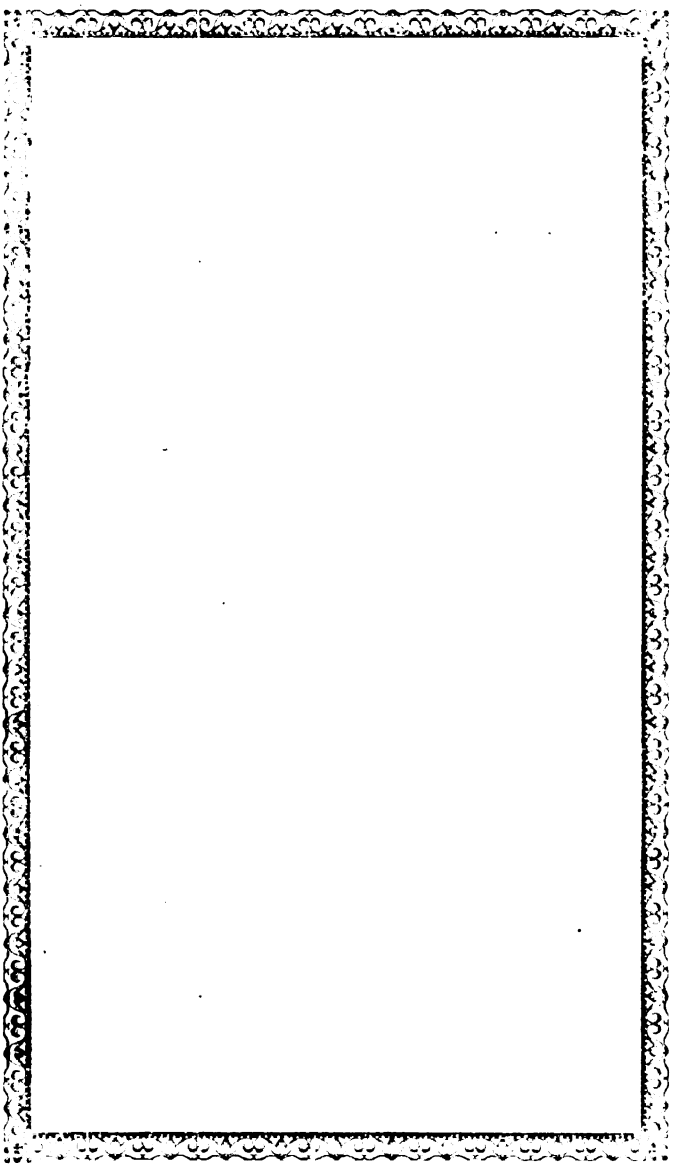
We also recommend to the native Americans of the several states, in their systems of education, a full recognition of the Bible as divine authority for the rights of man, as well as for that separation of church and state on which depends so essentially the pursuit of happiness and freedom of conscience. To the Bible we are indebted for the wand

that broke the sceptre of tyrants, and crumbled to atoms the church and state despotisms of those potentates who associate religion with their political systems —who degrade the people in order to rule them, and interdict education and knowledge among the masses, lest intelligence should inform them of their rights, instruct them how to break asunder their bonds, and rise to the true dignity of God-created freemen. When the ambition of kings projected the slavery of the people, they locked up the Bible, and invested themselves with the attributes of divinity. A divine right to enslave was admitted when the human right was denied. Hence, in all arbitrary governments, the state is incorporated with the church, under the monstrous paradox, that man, in the possession of his natural rights, is incompetent to self-government! The reading of the Bible among the people

exploded this doctrine, and the Native Americans defend it, and will continue to defend it, against all foreign aggression, as necessary to freedom of conscience, and the equal rights of man.

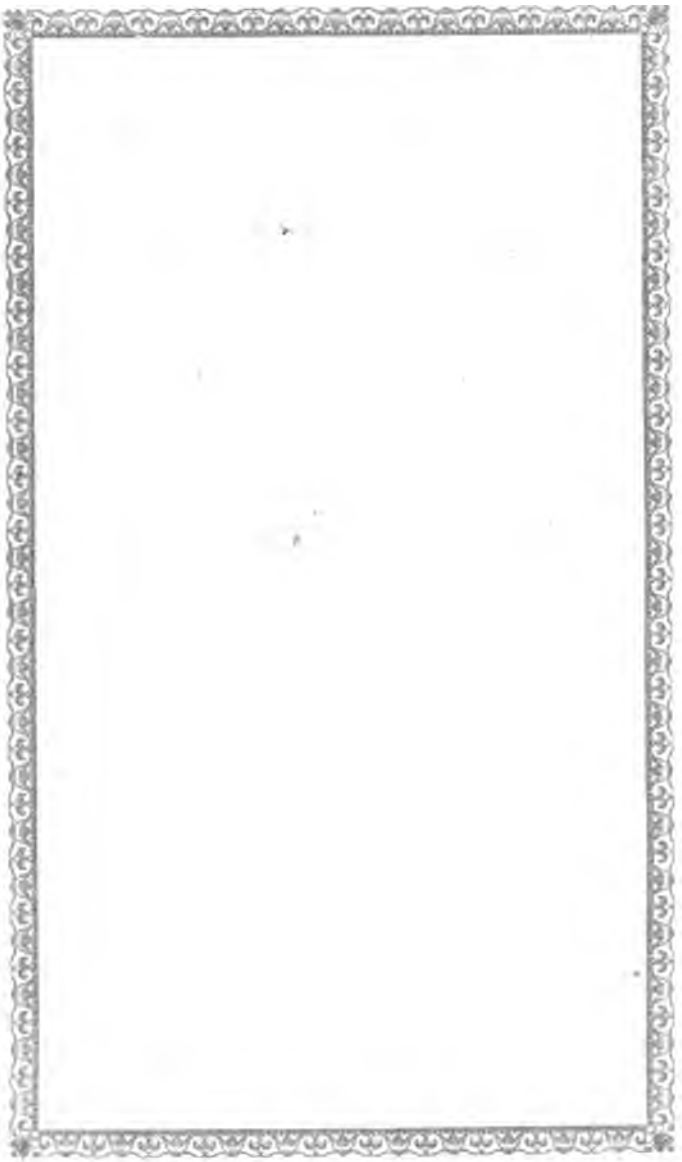
Having thus completed an outline of the principles and policy advocated by the Native American political party as a national party, we call upon every true friend of his country to rally under our standard before it becomes too late. We invite the assistance of every adopted citizen of sufficient intelligence to perceive his own real interest and that of his posterity. Warring with no particular sect, attacking no particular nation—regardless of the spleen of pre-existing parties—we are gathering to the combat in opposition to that foreign influence, and those abuses of party spirit which were so ably foretold by Washington and Jefferson. Invoking Heaven in testimony of the purity of our motives, we

have so solemnly determined never to relax our efforts until the star-spangled banner floats freely over the re-nationalized land of our birth and our affections.



EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The following Address, indicative of the views of Native Americans upon the State policy of Pennsylvania, was prepared by the Convention which assembled at Harrisburg, August 6th, 1845,—the same body which nominated a candidate for Canal Commissioner.



ADDRESS.

Fellow-Citizens of Pennsylvania:

It is now generally known that a National Convention of Delegates chosen by the Native-born citizens of the United States, opposed to foreign influence in the management of American affairs, and desirous of the eradication of the political corruptions already engrafted upon American institutions, in consequence of such influence, was held at Philadelphia on the fourth day of July, 1845.

This Convention, which included representatives from fourteen sovereign States, proceeded to organize the great Native

American party of the United States, by defining, in a series of clear and not to be mistaken resolutions, the political views of the members of the Native American party, from Maine to Texas, and from the Oregon to the Atlantic. An address, explanatory of these views and purposes, has been solemnly published, and to the principles therein laid down the Native Americans of Pennsylvania have heartily responded.

That Convention, in its wisdom, pronounced a condemnation of one of the most fertile sources of partisan corruption, in the following terms:

"We hold that all minor questions of expediency in legislating upon subjects unconnected with the fundamental structure of the government, such as fiscal and commercial regulations, the management of the Public Domain, and the proceeds therefrom, &c., belong by right to the representatives of the people, and those of

the several states, to be by them discussed and decided, from time to time, after mature argument, under the constitutional responsibility of those public agents—each to his own [illegible] constituency, and to the country—and [illegible] the adoption of any previous test or [illegible] upon such questions, [illegible], degrades it into a [illegible], by [illegible] to final decision [illegible], obstructs the course of [illegible]."

From [illegible] of the address, it will be [illegible] that, after the determination of [illegible] party, [illegible] the Native American [illegible] and [illegible] each particular State to [illegible] views of that constituency in relation to those questions of high moral interest which cannot be legitimately engraven upon the national banner of the party.

It is distinctly stated, in the same address, that the Native American party

stands pledged to the support of every American interest — industrial, judicial, legislative and literary;—and, in the same broad spirit, it is incumbent upon the Native Americans of Pennsylvania, to foster and defend every interest of our noble State—to insist upon her equitable claims — to defend her honour — to compel the strict observance of her laws without fear or favour—and to establish beyond dispute the lofty reputation transmitted as an heir-loom from her founder—the author of "the only treaty not ratified by oath, and the only treaty that was never broken."

Impoverished by extravagance, and sullied by the consequences of vicious legislation,—mainly resulting from those corruptions at the ballot-box which gave birth to our political movement—our State appears before the world, at present, in no enviable light. To restore her tarnished fame, and give fresh impulse to her prosperity, will demand the labour of years;

nor is it possible to foresee the various policy which may become necessary, from time to time, in order to place her upon that footing of equality with the most prudent and successful of her sister states, which, as her citizens should blush to own, she has, for the moment, lost:—but, in asking the suffrage of their fellow-citizens for the candidate of a new political party, to fill an important office under the government of the state, it becomes the duty of the Native Americans of Pennsylvania to define, at least in general terms, the peculiar local policy of the party at the present time, that the voter may be well informed what measures he is called on to support, in casting his ballot for the candidate so recommended.

The Convention the members of which now address you, being the first regularly constituted State Convention of Native Americans held in Pennsylvania, subsequently to the national organization of the

party, finds itself charged with the execution of this duty by precedent, propriety, and the necessity of the case; and in the performance of the task, it will be strictly guided by the spirit of the National Address.

In glancing at the existing political condition of Pennsylvania, we are struck upon the instant with the ruinous condition of her finances. Standing forth, in bold relief among the many evils which surround her, appears a debt of more than forty millions of dollars, the interest of which, for several years unpaid, or but partially liquidated, now hangs a dead weight on her industry, and a destructive blot upon her credit. The strenuous and manly exertions of our political opponents to remedy some portion of the latter opprobrious evil, by the regular payment of the two last instalments—exertions which, unlike all other political parties ranged in a hostile attitude, we can afford to signalize and

are happy to acknowledge—deserve and should receive the warmest thanks of every Pennsylvanian; but these measures are powerless to remove the burden of taxation which, though light in comparison with that of almost every other country, is continually driving capital, intelligence and industry beyond our borders, to swell the means of our more prosperous neighbours, while lessening our ability to meet the annual demands of honesty and justice.

It is needless to inform you that the source of this indebtedness is found in the enormous sums expended on the public works of Pennsylvania; works which in intrinsic value—developing, as they have done, the vast resources of the State, have already enhanced her solid wealth to an extent not easily to be computed, but which, for many years, have scarcely yielded, in immediate income, the cost of their repairs. To the parties interested in the loans by means of which these works

have been completed, the speculation therefore wears the semblance of a ruinous investment, whatever wealth it may appear to have diffused throughout the Commonwealth.

In making these remarks, we are not to be understood as expressing any opinion upon the subject of the sale of the public works, it being our determination to permit every member of our party to exercise his own unbiassed judgment upon that question.

Such has been the madness of legislation on the subject of railroads and canals, that, to gratify the narrow views of the people of particular districts, looking solely for the temporary expenditure of a little public money in their own immediate neighborhood, these works have been constructed in scattered and disconnected fragments; so that nearly the whole of the credit was called in requisition before available returns could be received from

any part; and thus the accumulation of principal upon interest, together with the extravagance, if not peculation, inseparable from all ill-ordered undertakings, has saddled our system of internal improvements with a load of debt which finds no representation in the immediately productive value of the works. Again, habitual mismanagement and uncertain legislation have deeply shaken the confidence of capitalists and citizens in the ability and permanent disposition of our rulers to make with purchasers a safe and equitable contract.

With an enormous interest, principally foreign, engaged in seeking every advantage on the one hand, and a vacillating Legislature, controlled by foreign influence at the polls, and armed with sovereign power *and only sovereign responsibility* upon the other, the tax-payers, the Loan-holders, and we, the Native Americans of Pennsylvania, have lost that confidence

in men and measures in relation to this vital question, without which the credit of the State and the saleable value of the works are not to be maintained. We lack that confidence in the propriety of the expenditures and in the perspicuity of the accounts of income, which constitute the chief elements in every calculation of the value of investment. For this reason—as we firmly believe—when the question of the sale of the public works was submitted to the people, the vote upon the subject was not sufficiently extensive to furnish a just test of popular opinion. The people want more light—*we want more light*—and we seek it by the nomination of men in whose integrity and capacity we feel the fullest confidence. We want reform in the Legislature—reform in the Board of Canal Commissioners—reform in every department connected with the regulation, the receipts and the disbursements of the public works. We seek it *at* the hands

and *by* the hands of natives of the soil, who know our interests and are identified with them. We want no hasty legislation on this all-important subject. At present the receipts of the public works are on the increase, while their expenses are declining. Their value in the market has been so seriously depressed by the various circumstances already mentioned, that the reception of their present available price would leave us still encumbered with a large proportion of our existing debt, after the blind sacrifice of vast assets of doubtful value, viewed at this moment in the most unfavourable light.

Our want of confidence in the safety of any probable legislation on this subject, in the existing state of parties, is enhanced by the recollection of the only transaction resembling a sale which has resulted from the wisdom of a Pennsylvanian Assembly. When, in 1843, the credit of the State was at the lowest ebb, about $350,000 were re-

quired for the completion of the Erie Extension — an important link in our great system of canals, on which had been already expended more than $3,000,000. An additional loan at par, which might have been accomplished, even then, by means both obvious and legitimate, would have effected the completion of the canal, and secured the income to the State; and yet, in order to effect this simple purpose without an increase of the public debt, the Legislature granted to a private company the entire possession, upon condition that the work should be completed within a given time, subject, however, to repurchase on the following terms: The State to pay the company the whole amount of outlay for construction, together with the cost of all repairs, from the time of transfer to the date of repurchase, with interest at eight per cent. upon this sum entire; thus granting a perpetual monopoly of an investment of more than $3,000,000 *for the*

[illegible] an extension. How sets an example. The people [illegible] of the debts contracted by the agents of their choice, the people stand irrevocably bound. No sovereign power that bars an execution before whose courts, finds no objections can be found in the power of honor or of God. The credit of the State must be restored.

Chief among the causes of extravagance —not to say dishonesty—in the administration of the public works, which has produced such serious distress, is the confusion resulting from the merging of their proceeds into the general mass of the resources of the State. Specific loans to carry out a separate purpose have been asked—received—appropriated—but the proceeds of this speculation, instead of being kept distinct and regularly applied, as far as they would serve, to the expenses

of the whole charge, we see a million carelessly into the general drawer, to which, with equal carelessness, the speculator resorts for family expenses, leaving there a multitude of *little bills* to meet the interest of the capital employed in business and the reckoning for the wear and tear of the machinery.

When the Pennsylvania system of improvement was commenced it was intended that its proceeds should secure the interest and the ultimate repayment of the principal of all the loans, and that the surplus should be charged with the repairs. A moderate tax, if husbanded with wisdom, was then, as it is now, sufficient for all other absolute necessities of government. The public works were pledged by law for the first loans, and in simple justice, the cross-pieces should be to those whose wealth supplied the means of their completion. The only question was, who should be charged on the final discharge of the re-

In moments of excessive pressure, when dire necessity compels unusual retrenchments, the first assault has generally been made upon the very palladium of our liberties—the Common School Fund.

Upon this subject we assume the following position:

The first duty of the embarrassed debtor is the preservation of his life, his health, and energies, for the benefit of his creditors. By the provisions of our just and equitable laws, the expenses of his necessary support may be abstracted from the income of even an insolvent estate, until its final settlement. Society, like the individual, is bound to preserve its existence under similar circumstances; and in a popular government, the lights of education are as vitally important to that existence as are food and raiment to the individual debtor.

[illegible]

men School Fund, already insufficient for the wants of our rapidly increasing population.

But in the confusion of the system of accounts as now recorded in our public offices, in the clashing of ill-defined responsibilities, and the unsettled perquisites of station, legally or illegally exacted, we find the elements of an enormous direct and indirect taxation. Into the history of these abuses we intend to carry the penetrating glance of honest eyes, reporting the results in fearless speech; and from this just research, we confidently expect to derive the means of seriously abridging the burdens of the State.

In the easy quietude of her prosperity, and in the terrors and distress of subsequent revulsion, Pennsylvania has neglected the assertion of her rights in several ways, and it becomes her now to gather and to husband her resources of every name and nature.

The great patrimony of the nation, consisting the public domain, was ceded to the general government, by several of the original States in trust for the benefit of the whole nation; and for no other purpose whatever. If, then, advantages of any kind, derived from the sales or cessions of a portion of that territory, have been extended to a single member of the present sisterhood of States, then, on every principle of honour and of justice, a like advantage belongs by right to every other State or portion of our country. The Native Americans of Pennsylvania ask no favours from the general government in relation to the proceeds of the public lands; they place upon their banner no party watch-word of vague import, to bring about suspicion of community of purpose with either of the political organizations, which have reduced her to her present deep humiliation. But, in duty, not only to herself, but to the suffering

thousands who chide "her infamous delay," they sternly claim those rights which must be granted to place her on a footing with her sisters in the inheritance which is her birth-right. She listens to no plea of *gavel-kind*, by which the law of primogeniture, repudiated by our institutions, shall be reversed and then restored for the chief benefit of the younger branches of our political family.

Each of the States which have been formed from the public domain—and even that portion of Ohio which, being an extension of Connecticut, never constituted part of that domain—has been endowed already for purposes of education, with a portion of this common property of the nation, equivalent to one thirty-sixth part of its surface. As Pennsylvanians, we demand, for the same purpose, the measure of the thirty-sixth part of our territory, to be carved from that wide expanse which now subserves but little other pur-

pose than to secure the reign of demagoguic parties, bent on plunder; to foster heartless speculation, and to supply a bounty for the introduction of more of that foreign influence which already threatens our destruction. We demand it *now*, before that most nefarious squandering of *our* property which seems to be the special object of the ruling powers, has robbed us of the vast resources of *our* unsettled territory, beyond the power of restitution.

Other claims against the public lands, of similar nature and equally unquestionable justice, may be and shall be urged and solidly established; but we have said enough for this occasion. We charge, that neither of the parties who successively misrule this noble State are willing to present the people with intelligible statements of their own affairs, or to defend their dearest rights. We have shown that an entire reform in our financial system is required once more to elevate the name of

Pennsylvania to the high place she once enjoyed. In solemnly repeating the asseverations of honesty of purpose so often falsified by former parties, we give you one security—the best—that we at least are truthful. We come untrammeled by all previous ties, fresh from the ranks of the people. We are *not practised* in the management of those affairs whose beautiful administration strikes every eye and touches every pocket! We offer you a candidate who *knows not how* to follow in the footsteps of a predecessor, but who possesses the three great requisites for office—industry, integrity, and fitness for the station. His election will be the first step towards the solution of the dark enigma which conceals the causes of our present most disastrous situation.

Time, labour, and expense will be required in the herculean task of reformation; but knowing well the innate love of

country and of honour which warms the hearts of the great mass of Pennsylvanians, we [illegible] proclaim, on your hearth, that our remembrance of the exact nature and [illegible] of the evils which have [illegible] you, your [illegible] and [illegible] liberties—that one assembly of the [illegible] of the State, your [illegible] unanimously the [illegible] necessary to restore her tarnished fame.

Come then, and aid us, citizens of Pennsylvania, in the great work [illegible] which we desire to occupy ourselves with a fervour that [illegible] the success of our [illegible], and the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] political [illegible] and serve the State, you know as well as we—[illegible] with [illegible] arts! Lay your hands there, and [illegible] of you, [illegible], who, with [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], oppose [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

—You who have listened to the falsehoods which have charged us with riot and with bigotry—a charge preferred by rioters and bigots, and subscribed by demagogues and their blind followers alone—come look at us; we are not difficult of access! Come hear us; we have simple speech to suit the comprehension of the least instructed, and flowing eloquence to please the scholar—hard hands and soft—blunt pens and sharp—to suit all visiters or correspondents. We intend to cleanse the Augean stable of factious politics, and we foster this intention with a firmness and determination which never yet was disappointed: But we would cleanse it *now!* And for this reason—not in doubt of ultimate success—we call upon you *now* to rally to our aid.

We are the people! It is our right to rule, and we will rule. Sooner or later we shall sway the destinies of Pennsylvania. Come, then, people of the Keystone

State. Study and understand us! Friends of your country, rally to the rescue! Wherever five or six of you are gathered in any town, or hamlet, or populous country neighbourhood, there read our National Address—there read the Constitution of our primary Associations—there *organize* and *act*. We have yet to hear of such a meeting, held at any place where hearts keep time to reason on their country's honour, without the planting of our banner and the establishment of still another centre for the diffusion of the love of order, law, intelligence and patriotism—terms synonymous with the principles of the great Native American political body, called, in deference to established custom only, by the name of *party*.

You who are of no party—the quiet, staid, and virtuous men who "like not politics"—you who have ventured into the arena only to hasten from it in disgust —on you we call to aid us! Are you fond

of the repose of private life, and called on to devote your energies to the maintenance of families, until you feel that private claims have left you scarce a moment for more general affairs? *Why, so have we!* Have you shaken off the very dust of your feet in testimony of your abhorrence of the gross corruption of pre-existing parties? *So have we!* We have left our farms, our work-shops, offices and studies, to mingle in the contest with that which gives to us a feeling of contamination; but our country calls, and imperious duty compels us to the struggle. Do you boast a deeper sense of duty or a higher virtue *in remaining idle?* Our associations are little senates—quiet, calm and argumentative—unlike the primary assemblages of other parties. With us, no man finds insult for the fineness of his coat; no hand is cast aside because it may be hard. Have you then wisdom? Give us the light of your wisdom. See you defects in any of our

views? Come and correct them! With us there are no previous pledges to obscure our reason. Convince us, and we are yours; for we listen to the weakest and the strongest. Come then, and rally to our aid, or if delay occurs by your neglect in those reforms which ultimately *shall* succeed, then bear the curses of the widow and the orphan for a few years longer, and answer for the results of opportunities neglected. We wash our hands of the responsibility.

THE END.